

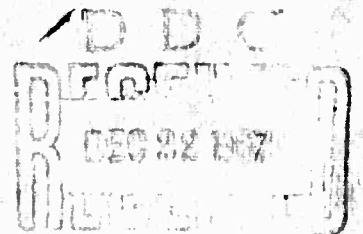
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LONG DISTANCE PASSENGER TRAVEL
IN THE SOVIET UNION

by

Jill A. Lion



Research Program on Problems of International
Communication and Security

CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
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Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts

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I would like to thank Professor Ithiel de Sola Pool and Alex Korol for the advice and encouragement they gave me throughout this project.

I. INTRODUCTION

Printed and spoken words, movies, radio, and television are accepted as rather obvious aspects of Soviet communications. Still another significant means of communication is long distance passenger travel. The transport of people from one location to another--particularly along inter-city or long distance routes--does relate to and affect popular communications. Before the impact of such travel on communications can be discussed, it is useful to know how the Soviet Government views passenger transport, how much Russians travel, by which modes, for what distances, and why. Urban and suburban passenger travel are not covered in this report, which concerns itself mainly with trips of 50 kilometers (31 miles) distance or more.

The Soviet Government now faces an interesting predicament: to what extent should improvements be made in the communications sector, including transportation? On the one hand, certain investments would increase communications, thereby promoting economic and administrative efficiency. On the other hand, different investments

would prolong current somewhat limited communications patterns. The latter situation would give the government considerable control over the population--a valuable asset during periods of rising expectations and/or frustrations.¹

Transportation has been a low priority item in all recent Soviet economic plans. Furthermore, when transport investments or improvements are discussed, they nearly always relate to freight, rather than passenger traffic. Freight transport is considered a necessary adjunct to industry. By contrast, passenger transport is said to relate to raising the cultural level of the population and serving personal needs. While Soviet authorities recognize these goals as legitimate, they are clearly subordinated to the demands of freight, when resources are allocated. Government investments in passenger transport have met growing demands, but not in a generous fashion. Travel facilities are generally crowded; accommodations are satisfactory, but not particularly comfortable.

Because all modes of Soviet transport are government owned and controlled, one might expect the coordination of these modes to be expert and efficient. Official pronouncements make a great deal of the "Unified Transport System" under development. Despite these plati-

¹I am grateful to Russell D. Bowen, Arthur D. Little, Inc., Cambridge, Massachusetts, for this suggestion.

tudes, one policy statement on passenger transport sometimes contradicts or even negates another. For example, planes are supposed to handle passengers travelling distances of several hundred kilometers or more, while railroads are considered most effective for passengers going up to 500 kilometers. In practice, however, railroad fares for some long trips are competitive with plane rates, so that many passengers are induced not to fly. In addition, plane fares for certain short trips are so low as to attract passengers away from express trains.

The noted academician, T. S. Khachaturov, admitted in 1959 that no satisfactory method of planning for passenger travel had yet been developed. Having suggested the extensive data which should be examined, he criticized the fact that no thorough analysis of passenger travel had been done for more than 25 years.²

Travel by Mode

Soviet transport carriers ranked according to the long distance (at least 50 kilometers or 31 miles) passenger traffic handled are railroad, plane, bus, ship, car/truck. While railroads have been the prime passenger carrier for years, their percentage of the passenger

²Tigran Sergeevich Khachaturov, Ekonomika transporta, 1959, pp. 284-285.

traffic has steadily decreased, as the figures in Table 1 testify. This decline reflects official Government policy: railroads are to be freed gradually of many of their long distance passengers in order to accommodate more freight. This policy decision was prompted by serious passenger overcrowding on trains in the early 1950's. It was at this point, according to J. N. Westwood, that the need to transfer passengers from railroad to other modes of transport was realized.³ Planes were increasingly called upon to help--especially when bigger aircraft with larger passenger capacities came into service.

The growth of both plane and long distance bus passenger services since 1950 has been consistent and rapid. Planes carried 28 times the number of people in 1965 that they did in 1950. Busses carried 22 times as many inter-city passengers in 1965 as in 1950. Planes and busses handled separately more than 30 times the volume of passenger-kilometers in 1965, compared to 1950.

The steady growth of inter-city bus service since World War II suggests some improvements in the road network. Still, compared to railroad expansion, Soviet road development is minimal. The 235,000 miles of hard surface highways in the U.S.S.R. are less than one-tenth the paved

³ J. N. Westwood, A History of Russian Railways (London: G. Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1964), pp. 296-297.

TABLE 1: Long Distance Passenger Traffic, U.S.S.R.
by Carrier, Selected Years, 1940-1964,
in Billions of Passenger-Kilometers.

Year	Railroad	%	Plane	%	Rus	%	Water	%	Total
1940	73.3	93.	0.2	.3	-	0	4.7	6.	78.2
1950	66.8	91.	1.2	1.5	1.4	1.8	3.9	5.	73.3
1951	73.4						4.1		
1952	79.6		1.7		1.9		4.2		87.4
1953	89.4				2.6		4.8		
1954	98.4				3.2		4.9		
1955	109.1	89.	2.8	2.	5.5	4.	5.1	4.	122.5
1956	109.9		3.1		7.2		4.9		125.1
1957	118.7		4.1		9.7		5.2		137.1
1958	121.6		6.4		12.3		5.4		145.7
1959	126.0		9.1		14.7		5.5		155.3
1960	130.1	78.	12.1	7.	17.6	10.	5.6	3.	165.4
1961	134.3		16.4		19.3		5.7		175.7
1962	145.2		20.3		23.2		5.9		194.6
1963	145.2		25.3		26.8		6.1		203.4
1964	144.9	68.	30.9	14	29.3	13.	6.0	2.8	211.1
1965	150.0	65.	38.1	16.	33.2	14.	6.4	2.8	227.7

SOURCES: These long distance data result from subtracting city and suburban traffic from total traffic figures in TsSU, Transport i sviaz' SSSR, 1957, pp. 12, 41, 175; Narkhoz '58, pp. 553, 590; Narkhoz '59, p. 492; Narkhoz '60, pp. 538, 565, 574-575; Narkhoz '62, pp. 381, 385, 414; Narkhoz '64, pp. 433, 437, and 493; and Narkhoz '65, pp. 458, 462, 476, 479, 503, 512.

highway mileage in the United States, even though Soviet territory is two and one half times larger than that of the U.S.⁴ The fleet of trucks, cars, and busses in the U.S.S.R. is also very small. The total cumulative stock of passenger cars in the Soviet Union is estimated to be one million,⁵ while production of passenger cars has been very modest to date. For example, only 201,200 cars were produced in 1965.⁶ One Western source estimates that of these cars, 48,600 were exported, 88,600 were delivered to official users, and only 64,000 remained for private purchase.⁷ Those Soviet citizens who can afford to buy a car--\$6,000 for a Volga or \$5,000 for a Moskvich--thus face months or years of waiting before delivery. Figures on passenger-kilometers via cars do not yet appear in Soviet statistical handbooks. No doubt these figures are still quite small and insignificant in the total passenger traffic.

⁴New York Times, March 19, 1967, p. 16.

⁵Holland Hunter, Soviet Transport Experience: Its Lessons for Other Countries (Washington, D.C.: Transport Research Program, The Brookings Institution, 1967), preliminary version, p. 6-14.

⁶Tsentral'noe statisticheskoe upravlenie, SSSR v tsifrakh v 1965 godu, p. 59. (The author is henceforth referred to as TsSU).

⁷"Lottery Prizes to Include 8200 Automobiles," Radio Liberty Dispatch, February 21, 1967.

Passenger travel by water is mostly seasonal and for pleasure in the U.S.S.R. Because of the country's northern location, many rivers and seas freeze, prohibiting traffic up to 6-9 months a year. Consequently, most ships sail only in the summer and cater largely to tourists on vacation excursions.

Indices of Passenger Mobility

These data on Soviet passenger transport by mode still do not suggest how the volume of passenger traffic relates to the general population. For this purpose, various indices of passenger mobility have been constructed. Because relatively little is known about the few passenger cars operating in the U.S.S.R., the indices used measure ticketed (or public) transportation only. The three indices explored in Table 2 are kilometers per capita, kilometers per passenger, and trips per capita. Dividing the total passenger-kilometers of all modes by the total population, year by year, provides the kilometers per capita. This number has more than doubled in the last 25 years, from 403 in 1940 to 973 in 1965. Total passenger-kilometers divided by the sum of all tickets sold yields the kilometers per ticket (or per passenger). Although kilometers per passenger have decreased by roughly

TABLE 2: Three Indices of Ticketed Passenger Mobility, U.S.S.R.: Passenger-Kilometers per Capita; Passenger-Kilometers per Passenger; Trips per Capita, Selected Years, 1940-1964.

Year	Total		Tickets sold			
	Long Distance Pass-Kms. (billions)	Population (millions)	Kms. per Capita	(i.e., passengers) (millions)	Kms. per Passenger	Trips per Capita
1940	78.2	194.1	403			
1950	73.3	178.5	411	319.1	230	1.78
1951		181.6				
1952	87.4	184.6	473	379.4	230	2.05
1953		188.0		434.8		
1954		191.0				
1955	122.5	194.4	630	528.6	232	2.71
1956	125.1	197.9	632	594.3	211	3.00
1957	137.1	201.4	681	701.8	195	3.49
1958	145.7	204.9	711	819.2	178	4.01
1959	155.3	208.8	744	958.1	162	4.59
1960	165.4	212.3	779	1,067.4	155	5.02
1961	175.7	216.1	813	1,120.1	157	5.17
1962	194.6	219.8	885	1,267.0	154	5.74
1963	203.4	223.1	912	1,373.6	148	6.12
1964	211.1	226.2	933	1,458.9	145	6.43
1965	227.7	231.9	973	1,598.8	143	6.80

SOURCES: Same as TABLE 1, plus Narkhoz '64, pp. 7, 451, 453; Narkhoz '63, p. 433; Narkhoz '62, pp. 396, 398; Narkhoz '61, pp. 519, 492, 494; Narkhoz '59, pp. 502, 504. Also, TsSU, Transport i sviaz, 1957, pp. 95, 116; M. I. Galitskii et al., Ekonomika geografiia transporta SSSR, 1965, p. 171; B. M. Parakhonskii, Voprosy ekonomiki i perspektivnogo planirovaniia pazzazhirsikh perevozok, 1963, pp. 62, 123, 140, 143; SSSR v tsifrakh v 1965 godu, pp. 98-99; Aviation Week and Space Technology, March 15, 1965, p. 177 and March 7, 1966, p. 57.

63% since 1950, nearly 5 times as many tickets are now sold. One can deduce that more short trips are now undertaken than in the past. This hypothesis is substantiated by the third index, in which the number of tickets sold, divided by the total population, provides the number of trips per capita per year. This number has jumped dramatically from roughly 1 and 3/4 trips per capita in 1950 to nearly 6 and 3/4 trips per capita in 1965. One should remember that these figures relate to long distance travel only, and do not reflect local, suburban, or commuting traffic. Also, as each ticket represents one trip one way, two trips might actually represent one round trip.

There are several possible explanations for the increase in long distance trips per capita between 1950-1965. First of all, the overall standard of living and individual salaries have improved substantially from the post-World War II era, enabling people to travel more. Second, industry and schooling have expanded, creating additional passenger traffic. Third, the Soviet population has shifted from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban society in the last 20 years. Fourth, rural isolation appears to be diminishing. The breakdown was 60% rural and 39% urban in 1950. In 1966, only 46% of

the population was rural while 54% was urban.⁸ Urban residents in the U.S.S.R. have good prospects for travelling. In larger cities, several types of long distance transport are available, as well as information about inter-city travel schedules, local terminals, etc. By contrast, travel opportunities for the rural population are only fair to poor. The increased number of short trips made in recent years suggests that rural isolation has lessened somewhat, despite the following formidable obstacles. If a kolkhoz is not located near a railroad spur or local airport, its only connections with other kolkhozes and small villages are dirt roads. Very few passenger cars exist in rural areas; some trucks serve as passenger carriers, while horsedrawn carriages are common. Still, all these vehicles are stymied during the spring and fall mud. At these times, a condition known as "roadlessness" persists. Trips between kolkhozes and villages are literally suspended until the roads dry or freeze, depending on the season.

Low incomes are another reason why rural residents do not have bright prospects for travel. Per capita

⁸ TsSU, Narodnoe khoziastvo v SSSR 1964, p. 4. (This annual volume is henceforth cited as Narkhoz plus the appropriate year and page reference.) Also, TsSU, Narkhoz '65, p. 7.

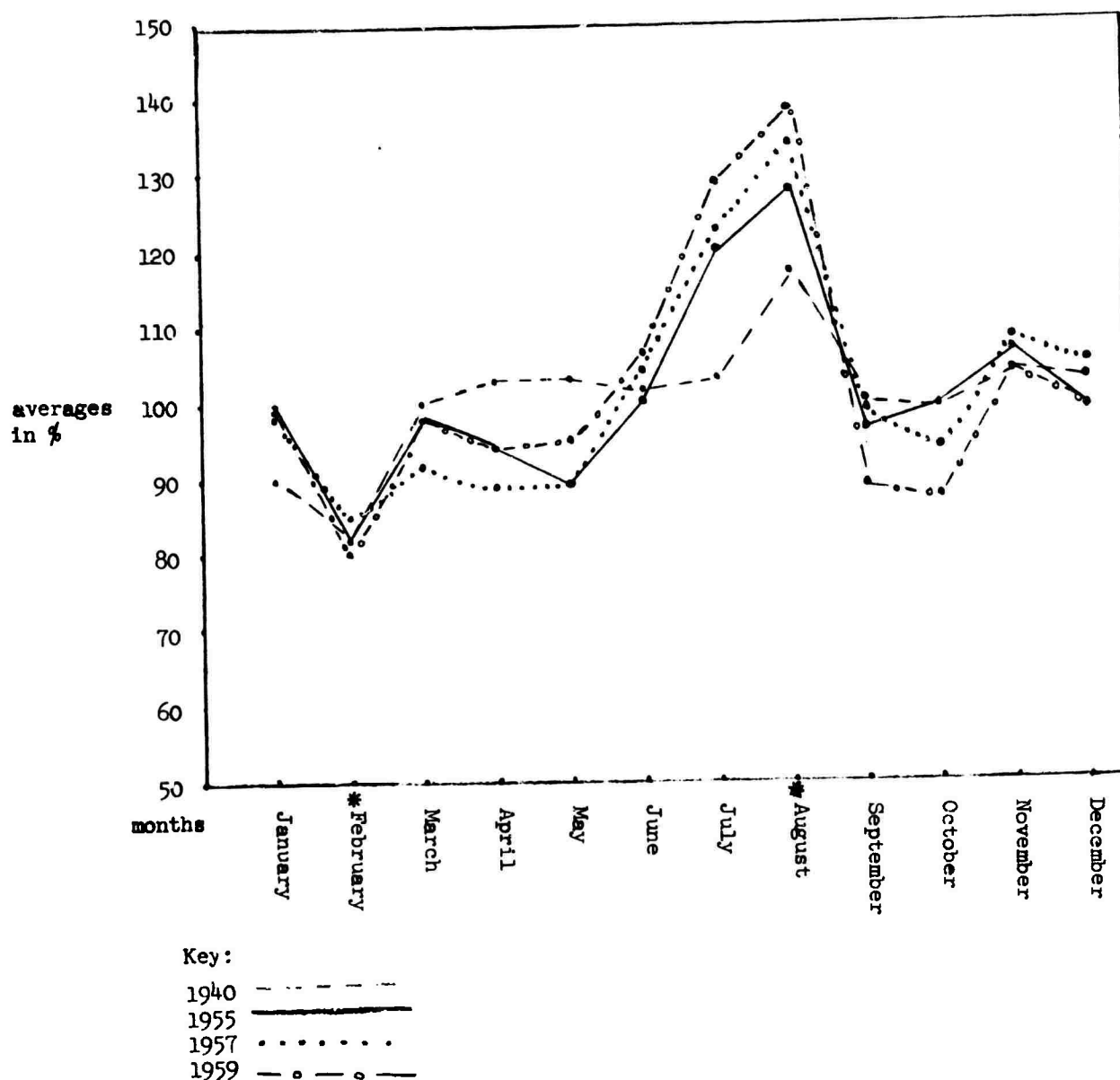
income for rural residents has long been lower than that of urban residents because until last year, minimum wages did not apply to farmers. The guaranteed kolkhoz annual income voted by the 23rd Party Congress in Spring 1966 should serve to increase rural salaries and improve general living conditions. This is but one of several plans the government has initiated in order to raise rural living conditions and eliminate the discrepancies between city and country life. Eventually, these improvements will probably contribute to increasing the mobility of rural residents.

Seasonal Fluctuations

Seasonal travel fluctuations are very much a part of Soviet passenger transport. Also, fluctuations are greater on long distance transport than on suburban passenger transport.⁹ Graphs 1 and 2 suggest the wide month-to-month fluctuations of long distance railroad passenger travel. Annual totals for the number of passengers carried and for total passenger-kilometers are divided by 12, yielding a monthly average for each series. This average is represented on the graphs as 100%. Deviations below and above the monthly average are then noted at their

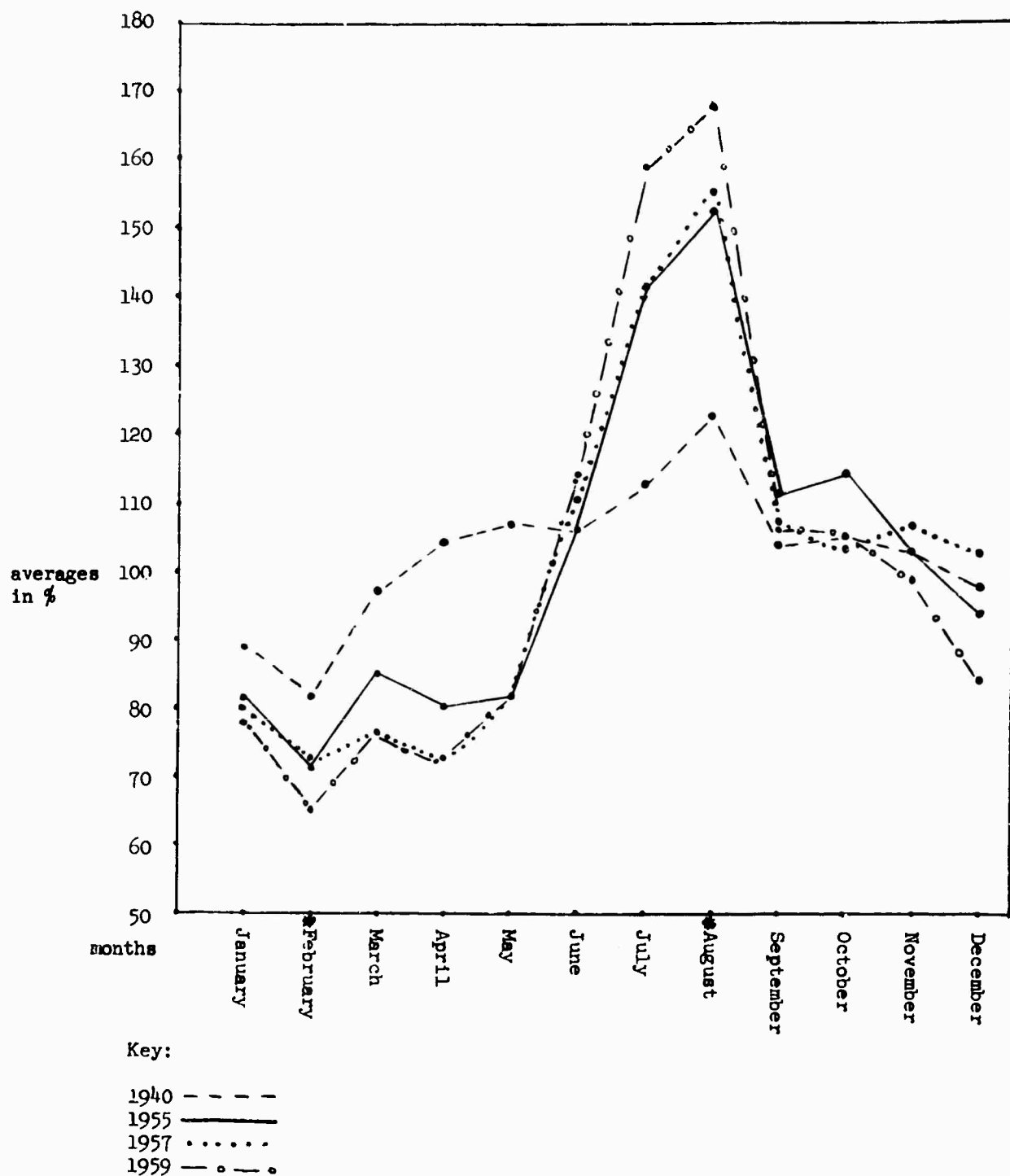
⁹ B. M. Parakhonskii et al., Voprosy ekonomiki i perspektivnogo planirovaniia passazhirskikh perevozok, 1963, p. 183.

GRAPH 1. Deviations in Number of Long Distance Railroad Passengers, U.S.S.R., by Month, in Percentages of Monthly Averages. Selected Years, 1940-1959.



SOURCE: Percentages are derived from figures taken from B.M. Parakhonskii et al., Voprosy ekonomiki i perspektivnogo planirovaniia passazhirskikh perevozok, 1963, Table 40, p. 174.

GRAPH 2. Deviations in Long Distance Passenger-Kilometers via Railroad, U.S.S.R., by Month, in Percentages of Monthly Averages. Selected Years, 1940-1959.



Source: same as GRAPH 1.

respective percentage points. It will be seen that both the number of passengers and the passenger-kilometers are lowest in February and highest in August of each year. Furthermore, the amount of fluctuation between the low and high traffic peaks of each year has steadily increased in long distance railroad travel.

More people travel in the summer months, June, July, and August, than any other time of the year. There are several reasons for this phenomenon. First, weather is warmest and most pleasant all over the country during the summer. Second, more people have vacation leave in summer than any other time of the year. Students at all levels and workers under 16 are given summer vacations. Many students are sent to rural areas during their holidays to help on local construction projects. So that no industry will be left short-handed, it is suggested that approximately 8% of the workers in each plant be given vacations each month. No doubt many more than 8% of the industrial labor force actually takes vacation in each summer month. By contrast, harvesting and other heavy summer work keep kolkhozniks and sovkhhozniks from vacationing until slack times of the year, usually the winter.

It is most difficult to estimate the number of workers who take advantage of still another labor law, one which permits leave without pay for a short time in connection

with affairs of a personal or family nature. With this leave, for example, a working wife could take time off (with the permission of her employer), when her husband and children were already on vacation. Since this leave-at-one's-own-expense is given strictly at the discretion of each individual organization, one can only guess as to how widespread an occurrence it is.

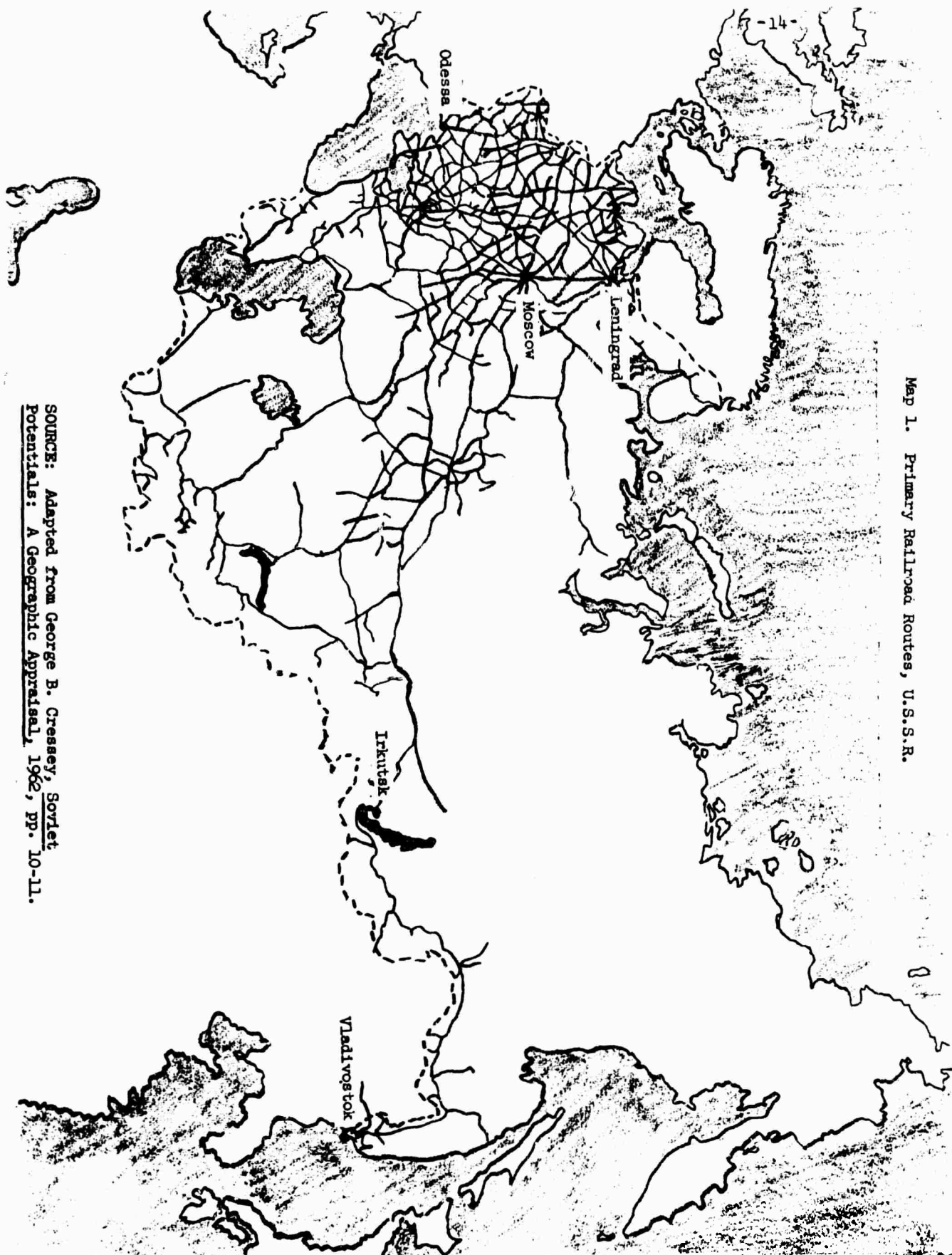
Most Heavily Travelled Routes

Just as the population of the U.S.S.R. is heavily concentrated in European Russia, so the most heavily travelled passenger routes are also located there. Map 1 below illustrates the primary railroad network in the Soviet Union and substantiates this claim. Routes between Moscow and key industrial areas (such as Leningrad or Kharkov), Moscow and the Crimea, and Moscow and the Caucasus serve the largest passenger demands. The latter routes are also more crowded than others in the annual summer crush on passenger transport facilities.¹⁰

The 650 kilometer Moscow-Leningrad route, one of the most heavily travelled in the Soviet Union, has extensive railroad and plane service. Over 40 daily trains leave the national capital for the port city; half are

¹⁰ S. K. Danilova, ed., Ekonomika transporta, 1956, p. 257.

Map 1. Primary Railroad Routes, U.S.S.R.



SOURCE: Adapted from George B. Cressey, Soviet Potentials: A Geographic Appraisal, 1962, pp. 10-11.

express, the others, passenger (slower) trains. The express train takes 5 and 1/2 hours for the trip; it provides exceedingly fast, convenient service between downtown terminals in Moscow and Leningrad, and it is very popular. By contrast, the local or passenger train may take anywhere from 7 to 14 hours. Departures are scattered throughout the day. Several express night sleepers are available.¹¹ There are 10 daily flights from Moscow to Leningrad with flying time one hour, 20 minutes.¹²

The Moscow-Odessa trip, a distance of 1526 kilometers, is particularly popular in summer. Five daily through trains make the trip south. By express, travel time is 24 hours; by passenger train, even longer.¹³ There are four daily plane flights from Moscow to Odessa. Flight time is two hours.¹⁴

¹¹Raspisanie dvizheniia passazhirskikh poezdov na 1966-67 godu, 1966, pp. 67-68.

¹²Official Airline Guide--World Wide Timetable Edition, May 1967, schedule no. 3688, p. c-1182.

¹³Raspisanie dvizheniia passazhirskikh poezdov na 1966-67 godu, 1966, pp. 107-111.

¹⁴Official Airline Guide--World Wide Timetable Edition, May 1967, schedule no. 3688, p. c-1182.

A useful rule of thumb for estimating the difference between transit times by railroad and plane is the following: the longer the distance to be covered, the greater the discrepancy between train and jet transit times. For example, the train from Moscow to Irkutsk near Lake Baikal requires several days to cover 5183 kilometers. No express train covers the entire route, although express trains do run some segments of the trip.¹⁵ Four daily flights serve the Moscow-Irkutsk line. Jet flying time is six hours, 45 minutes!¹⁶

¹⁵ Raspisanie dvizheniia passazhirskikh poezdov na 1966-67 godu, 1966, pp. 71-82.

¹⁶ "Raspisanie dvizhenie samoletov iz Moskvy na vnutrennikh vozdukhnikh liniakh," Vechernaia Moskva, May 18, 1966, p. 4.

II. GROUPS OF TRAVELLERS

Long distance passenger transport accommodates three main groups of travellers: Russians on business; foreigners on vacation in the U.S.S.R.; and Russians for pleasure.

Official Travel

Officials or businessmen in transit between one fairly large city and another are likely to fly, rather than take express trains. There are several reasons for this. First, plane trips are both faster and more direct than railroad, bus, or water trips. Because these three often involve circuitous routes, an average plane trip is not only speedier, but also 20% shorter in distance than a railroad trip, 28% shorter than a bus trip, and 33% shorter than a water trip between two corresponding points.¹ Second, the cost of a plane trip will be analogous to--if not lower than--the cost of a sleeping berth on an express train. For example, it costs less to fly than to take a courier train between Moscow and Leningrad

¹S. I. Kosobreeva in D. N. Zagliadimova, ed., Razvitie edinoi transportnoi seti SSSR, 1963, p. 116.

and between Moscow and Kiev.² Third, by showing the credential issued for official missions, certain businessmen can secure tickets for desired flights more easily than can ordinary citizens.

One particular group of Soviet men are known to do a great deal of business travel. These are the tolkachi, illegal procuring agents who work for individual firms all over the country. Their job is to facilitate the operations of the plants they represent by obtaining difficult supplies, spare parts, and other materials. Tolkachi operate strictly outside official legal channels of communications and production; they distribute personal favors, or blat, to achieve their goals. Because tolkachi are illegal, their absolute numbers are not known. However, their widespread distribution, the breadth of their travels, and their constant motion are public knowledge. As one Izvestia article suggests, "Tolkachi literally live on wheels."³ Plants often put tolkachi on their payrolls as "Engineers" or "Purchasing Officers." Hence, tolkachi may travel on the business credential mentioned above.

² B. M. Parakhonskii et al., Voprosy ekonomiki i perspektivnogo planirovaniia passazhirskikh perevozok, 1963, p. 68.

³ Izvestia, June 15, 1954, p. 2 as quoted in Joseph Berliner, Factory and Management in the U.S.S.R. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 210.

It is tantalizing to speculate on what portion of air travel is done by businessmen and officials in the U.S.S.R. In the United States, for instance, the two largest domestic airlines estimate that 60-70% of their passengers travel for business purposes.⁴ In the Soviet Union, where economic and administrative centralization have advanced to an even greater degree than in the United States, the portion of air travel done for business is probably even higher. There are several reasons for this estimate:

- 1) On account of centralization, major industrial decisions for the entire country are made in Moscow; major decisions for each republic are made in the respective republic capitals. Hordes of plant managers or local officials seeking to influence or change plans made for their locales must come to Moscow or their republic capital to visit relevant ministries.
- 2) When an important new Soviet decree is introduced, mass conferences to explain and discuss it often follow. The majority of these conferences are held in Moscow, because the

⁴E. F. Bush, Manager, Passenger Services, American Airlines, Boston; William J. Sutter, Regional Sales Administrator, Eastern Airlines, Boston. Telephone interviews, March 3, 1967.

capital city has the most hotel rooms and restaurants. Conference participants from all over the country generate many passenger-kilometers en route to and from Moscow.

- 3) Responsibility is highly fragmented within the Soviet economy. This causes not only a profusion of paperwork and red tape, but also a multiplicity of minor officials and inspectors. A kolkhoz may have one inspector checking on the milking of cows, another on the housing of cows, and a third on the feeding of cows.⁵ Factory inspectors overlap in a similarly inefficient manner. The vast amount of on-the-spot checking by a multitude of inspectors creates much business passenger travel in the U.S.S.R.

While not businessmen in the strict sense, some kolkhozniks and sovkhozniks travel long distances for business reasons. They sell fruits, vegetables, flowers from their private plots to residents of cities far from their farms. Such sales are an important source of income for collective farmers. Their long distance business trips likely coincide with harvest seasons.

⁵I am grateful to Professor Joseph Berliner, Russian Research Center, Harvard University, for having suggested this example.

One kolkhoznik's remarkable long distance business trip came to light in spring 1967. This farmer from Azerbaijan spent five day on the train in order to reach Irkutsk---4,000 miles away---and sell products from his private plot. He carried seven sacks of dried apricots and four sacks of hazel nuts with him. It was estimated that one or two days after his arrival in Irkutsk, he would start home with about 1,000 rubles for his produce. The kolkhoznik noted that once a year he was permitted to market goods from his private plot wherever he wished. He had previously travelled to Moscow, Leningrad, and Riga for this reason.⁶

Foreign Tourists

The second group of travellers whose needs are met by the Soviet transport system are foreign tourists in the U.S.S.R. These foreign visitors are highly valued because of the currencies they bring into the country.

Over one million four hundred thousand foreigners visited the Soviet Union in 1966, according to Intourist, the official government agency handling such visitors. Of these, 667,571 or 46% came from Western countries. The remainder, 779,149, were tourists from East European

⁶Henry Kamm, "Farmer in Soviet Travels 4,000 Miles to Market," New York Times, March 21, 1967, p. 5.

or other so-called "Socialist Bloc" countries.⁷ The latter still constitute the bulk of foreigners visiting the U.S.S.R. Since 1964, joint agreements have made it possible for a citizen of one bloc country to visit another bloc country without a visa.⁸

The number of all foreigners visiting the U.S.S.R. has risen dramatically in the post-Stalin era. For example, there were only 486,000 foreign tourists in 1955, but one million in 1964.⁹ Visas to the Soviet Union are easier to get, and the government actually promotes tourism via ads in foreign publications. The special Intourist sponsored magazine sections of ads on travel to the U.S.S.R. in the February 20, 1966 issue of the Sunday N. Y. Times suggests the vigor of the new Soviet approach.

Intourist Rules

Once in the Soviet Union, foreign tourists must travel in accordance with government regulations. Certain

⁷ Letter from M. W. Yakovleva, Intourist Office in New York, May 31, 1967.

⁸ John Scott, The Soviet World: Growth, Disintegration and Reform (New York: Time, Inc., 1966), p. 9.

⁹ Yakovleva, loc. cit.

cities and geographic areas are "off limits" to many foreigners, mostly for military or strategic reasons.

According to the U.S. Department of State,

About one quarter of the U.S.S.R. is officially closed to foreigners. In addition, other large areas are unofficially but effectively closed because Intourist declines to arrange travel there.¹⁰

When a foreign tourist wants to travel to an approved locale, Intourist is required to handle all travel arrangements. This means that the foreigner cannot attempt to reserve a seat or buy his own tickets for long distance conveyance, on penalty of prosecution or expulsion.¹¹

On trains, foreigners are likely to be given either deluxe or "soft" accommodations. As a result, they do not mix with the bulk of the Soviet population travelling on "hard" or coach rates. Plane travel is all one class in the Soviet Union, so Russians and foreigners do sit together in flight. Nevertheless, at bigger airports, foreigners await their flights or sit out delays in special Intourist lounges, away from Russian travelers.¹² Also, foreigners are often led onto the plane first, before native passengers.

¹⁰ U.S. Dept. of State, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Passport Office, "Travel to the Soviet Union," M-360, March 1967, p. 2.

¹¹ Scott, op. cit., p. 6.

¹² Some larger airports also have special lounges for Supreme Soviet members and mothers with children.

It is possible for foreigners in the U.S.S.R. to travel either in their own or rented cars. Privately owned cars may be driven across into Soviet territory from approved cities in Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, or Turkey. Drivers must have an international driver's license and national registration for their cars. In addition, foreigners bringing their own cars into the U.S.S.R. for travel must sign an oath at the border crossing that they will export their cars at the end of the trip. This restriction presumably prevents black-market car sales and keeps extra currency from leaving the country. Two models of Soviet cars, the Volga and the Moskvich, can also be rented, with or without a driver. Fees depend on the car, the duration of the trip, and mileage accumulated.

Whether driving his own or a rented car, the foreigner must proceed only along Intourist-approved routes. Intourist makes suitable hotel or camping reservations for these travellers. Foreigners are advised that driving at night is prohibited to avoid accidents. Intourist estimates gasoline costs from 32-51¢ per gallon. Although officials claim that gasoline is readily available on main highways, it often is at a premium or non-existent en route. For example, between Moscow and Leningrad, a distance of 724 kilometers (442) miles,

there were only 5 gas stations in 1966. Between Moscow and Kalinin, 161 kilometers or 98 miles, there was no gas station until late 1966, when one was opened at Klin.¹³

Garages with servicing facilities are even rarer than gas stations in the U.S.S.R. There are only two garages between Moscow and Leningrad, for instance.¹⁴ Few spare parts are made for Soviet automobiles and none are available for non-Soviet makes, so a necessary replacement can cause great difficulties. The dearth of skilled mechanics compounds the problem. One Soviet writer describes a recent auto trip in these terms:

Unfortunately, the journey still presents many inconveniences. From Moscow to Rostov-on-Don (Ed. note, 1121 kms.), the motorist will not come across a restaurant, a cafe or a hotel where he can rest his weary head for the night. He will find no repair shop to replace inoperative parts. These inconveniences have been left off the highway. One quite often comes across unlucky drivers on the road. They flagged down our vehicle, too.¹⁵

¹³ Atlas avtomobil'nykh dorog SSSR, 1966, p. 3.

¹⁴ CIA, Directorate of Intelligence, "U.S.S.R.: About to Enter the Automotive Age?" CIA/RR ER 66-13, July 1966, p. 22.

¹⁵ N. Pechersky, "Along the Highway--Build Roads Better," Pravda, November 13, 1966, p. 2. Translated in Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. XVIII, no. 46, p. 29. (The latter publication is henceforth noted as CDSP with the appropriate volume, number and page.)

Bus tours for foreigners are subject to the same general regulations that apply to passenger cars. One additional stipulation requires each busload of non-Soviet tourists to reserve one seat for an Intourist guide who will accompany the group throughout its stay in the Soviet Union. If the bus carries 40 or more passengers, two Intourist guides must join it.

Russian Tourists

Soviet transport facilities handle a third large group of travellers--Russians travelling for pleasure. These ordinary citizens, travelling without the privileges accorded businessmen and foreigners, generally encounter more difficulties and frustrations. Each step in preparing for and actually taking a trip may be laborious and trying.

First, obtaining reliable information about travel schedules poses real problems. Train, plane, and bus schedules are not printed in sufficient quantity for general distribution. Summer schedule changes may be printed in newspapers; in Moscow, for example, Vechernaia Moskva prints plane and ship summer schedules for travel from Moscow. However, rail and bus schedules aren't run, because they are so numerous. As a result, prospective travellers must contact the proper ticket

office for data. This is no small task. Few people have private telephones in the U.S.S.R.; there are even fewer telephone books available than telephones. Also, travel terminals aren't equipped to handle mass inquiries by telephone. The main railroad terminal in Moscow, a city of 6 1/2 million people, has one telephone line for schedule information! One Izvestia reader tells what it is like to try and get connected with this line:

Many people know the telephone number E6-90-00. It is Moscow Railroad Information. Just try to call this number. One can spend a whole day at it to no avail.¹⁶

In Literaturnaia Gazeta, another traveller complains about the difficulties of getting transport schedules:

Just try to get information in our capital about the ship schedule on the Lena River or the price of tickets; try to get information on bus routes along the Georgian Military Highway or the train schedule between Sochi and Sukhumi--all this is either entirely impossible or more complicated than getting analogous information about France, the U.S., or Britain from the Moscow offices of foreign travel agencies.¹⁷

Once schedules are known, the next hurdle is purchasing tickets. It is possible to buy train and plane tickets about two weeks in advance of a planned trip.

¹⁶"Concerning Those who are en Route," Izvestia, August 28, 1965, p. 3. Translated in CDSP, Vol. XVII, no. 35, p. 34.

¹⁷V. Tereshchenko, "The Tourist Industry," Literaturnaia Gazeta, July 9, 1966, p. 2. Translated in CDSP, Vol. XVIII, no. 29, p. 11.

Also, one can order tickets by mail or phone up to a stipulated date before departure. Tickets may, of course, be purchased in transport terminals, although this can entail long delays. Stations are generally crowded; and waiting lines, long. As one Izvestia reader from Omsk writes:

Following the advice of a railroad advertisement, I dialed the telephone number of Omsk city advance-sale ticket office and asked that my order be taken. It was suggested to me that I come to the ticket office and make my request in person. I did just that on the following day, standing in line at the ticket office for four hours.¹⁸

Unfortunately, a ticket does not always guarantee a seat on the vehicle in question; space on trains and busses is often oversold with crowding the inevitable result. When more tickets are sold than seats exist for a plane flight, some passengers with tickets are left behind. Scheduling errors can cause still greater nuisance. One Izvestia correspondent describes a plane trip he attempted between Moscow and Kotlas. The Moscow Aeroflot office sold him a through ticket. On arriving in Syktyvkar, the intermediate stop, the writer discovered that flights between Syktyvkar and Kotlas had been discontinued for the last one and one-half years!

¹⁸"Concerning Those Who are en Route," Izvestia, August 28, 1965, p. 3 Translated in CDSP, Vol. XVII, no. 35, p. 34.

"Doesn't Aeroflot know where it flies and where it doesn't fly?" he asked.¹⁹

En route, a variety of ills may plague the traveler from poor service and lack of food, required changes of carrier, to discontinuation of the trip itself. One Pravda correspondent claims inconvenience abounds in inter-city bus travel: frequent transfers from one bus to another are necessary; and the Russian Republic Ministry of Highway Transportation and Highways is slow to improve the situation.²⁰

Although trains usually run on schedule in the U.S.S.R., bus, plane, and ship operations are often affected by bad weather. Storms can be particularly annoying to the air traveller, because a whole air route may stop temporarily when one intermediate airport closes. For example, when Irkutsk airport closes, planes do not fly the Khabarovsk-Moscow trip. Other airports are loathe to accept an unexpected extra flight which means more work.²¹

¹⁹ A. Druzenko, "Unpleasant Misapprehension," Izvestia, July 27, 1965, p. 3. Translated in CDSP, Vol. XVII, no. 24, p. 26.

²⁰ V. Kurpin, "On Inter-City Highways," Pravda, November 11, 1964, p. 4. Translated in CDSP, Vol. XVI, no. 45, pp. 22-23.

²¹ V. Voronin, "Ground Woes of Aeroflot," Izvestia, October 18, 1966, p. 3.

Those few Russians who have cars at their disposal for long distance travel face the same difficulties that foreigners do in finding gas and spare parts. These maintenance problems don't phase Soviet hitchhikers, however. Hitchhikers ride mostly in trucks, since the latter outnumber cars on Soviet highways. According to one observer, riders were willing to pay drivers about one ruble per kilometer for a lift in 1959. Even though the Motor Vehicle Code forbids truck drivers from taking on extra passengers as a source of illegal private revenue, the procedure seems to be common practice. One driver explained that he accepted hitchhikers' rubles, then had to split them with the other drivers in his depot on his return.²²

A Soviet hitchhikers organization called Autostop is gradually changing the above system. Under Autostop's plan, members buy coupon booklets enabling them to travel 1,000 kilometers for one ruble. Truck drivers, to whom coupons are given in exchange for rides, can turn their coupons in to local Autostop chapters for various prizes. Drivers with the most coupons collected receive gifts and publicity from the Autostop organizations, which already functions in the Baltic and Russian Republics

²² John Scott, The Soviet Empire (New York: Time, Inc., 1959), p. 8.

and the Crimea.²³ The fact that the government has not outlawed hitchhiking suggests a compromise by which semi-illegal established arrangements have been channeled into semi-sanctioned and more easily controlled arrangements. Furthermore, hitchhikers may alleviate crowded conditions on busses and trains.

One way to avoid many of the transport problems and frustrations described earlier is to travel in off-season (non-summer) months aboard Soviet long distance transportation. Ticket fees are discounted 15-25% as an incentive to passengers. Students receive 50% discounts on air travel in all except the summer months. Nevertheless, summer is the peak period of Soviet long distance passenger travel, and it deserves separate attention and discussion.

²³Theodore Shabad, "Hitchhikers get a Lift in Soviet," New York Times, April 12, 1964, p. 10.

III. SUMMER TRAVEL

When prime weather and vacation time coincide in summer, increased travel on long distance transport heavily taxes Soviet facilities. None of the transport ministries has enough extra equipment and personnel to meet peak summer needs; seats on trains, planes, busses, and ships are at a premium.

Preference for Planes

Four main factors seem to affect the summer traveller's choice of transport mode: cost, availability, transit time, and destination. Which mode the traveller actually chooses and his reasons deserve consideration. One writer, B. M. Parakhonskii, cites transit time as the decisive factor for the traveller. He claims time lost in transit on vacations or holidays matters a great deal to people whose free time is short; they want to arrive at their destination quickly, without long delays. When trains were the prime means of passenger transport, time lost en route was roughly proportional to the length of the trip. Now that jet plane passenger service is a

reality, however, transit time is 15-20 times shorter via plane than via railroad. As a result,

Time lost in flight between the center of the country and the Far East doesn't exceed the time necessary for a train trip from Moscow to Leningrad, Kharkov, or Minsk.¹

The findings of another writer, S. I. Kosobreeva, reinforce the above interpretation. She compares certain plane and train traffic to major areas served by both modes.

It is interesting to note that in August 1961, from Alma-Ata, Ashkhabad, Vladivostok, Irkutsk, Sverdlovsk, Odessa, and other cities of the country, airplanes brought more passengers to Moscow than railroads did. To the Crimea, there were half as many air passengers as railroad passengers.²

These are impressive figures if one considers that there were nearly 11 times as many long distance railroad passengers as plane passengers in 1961 as a whole (236 cf. 21.8 million).³ In addition, several million people are estimated to travel to the Crimea each summer.

The surge of people travelling in summer overwhelms not only transport carriers, but also resort facilities. Hotels, rest homes, sanatoria, restaurants have not expanded as quickly as the number of tourists; as a result,

¹Parakhonskii et al., op. cit., p. 35.

²Kosobreeva in D. P. Zagliadimova, ed., op. cit., p. 114.

³Narkhoz '62, p. 385; Narkhoz '61, p. 519.

accommodations are a second bottleneck for summer travellers.

There are a few ways for vacationers to avoid the accommodations crush: 1) have one's own summer house (dacha) in the country; 2) visit friends or relatives, especially in the Crimea; 3) get a putevka (pass) for one's stay in a Trade Union rest home or resort area; 4) camp out in a government run camp site. Regrettably, none of these solutions is particularly promising. First, only the Soviet elite have dachas for summer use; second, not all people have relatives or friends they can visit; third and fourth, the demand for putevki and camp site rentals far exceeds the supply.

Putevka System

The putevka system is an interesting aspect of the Soviet Labor Union movement. Trade Unions maintain some 2,500 rest homes for their members' vacation enjoyment. Passes for food and lodging at these facilities were distributed to 7 million of the more than 70 million members in 1966.⁴ (Transportation to and from the rest home is not included in the putevka.) How are these 10% of all members selected for either free or subsidized

⁴I.I. Kozlov, "The 5 Year Plan and Resort Development," Trud, April 19, 1966, p.3. Translated in Joint Publications Research Service #36,081, June 20, 1966, p.36. (The latter publication is henceforth cited as JPRS with the relevant number, date, and page.)

vacation trips? According to N. D. Rodin, an instructor from the All Union Central Trade Union Council on state social insurance, priority is accorded the advanced and cadre workers, production innovators, the engineer-technical-workers employed directly in production, working veterans of the second World War and labor invalids, and blood donors.⁵ The worker or employee seeking a putevka applies to the Union Commission of Social Security. The Commission reviews and decides on each request. When an application for a pass is approved, the local trade union committee grants the trip.

Although the hardest working and most productive trade union members are supposed to have top priority in getting putevki, the distribution of these passes is not always managed properly. Press reports suggest that occasionally sick people are not sent to correct sanatoria, adults are sent to young people's camps, or putevki to rest homes outright.⁶ While the newspaper Vechernaia Moskva carries ads for the sale of putevki on its classified page, these don't refer to summer rest home accommodations. Instead, passes for bus, rail, or ship excursions are offered. In Vechernaia

⁵ "Expansion of the Health Resort System," Stroitel'naia Gazeta, January 14, 1966, p. 4. Translated in JPRS, #34,449, March 8, 1966, pp. 79-80.

⁶ I. I. Kozlov, "Report on Health Facilities for Workers," Trud, November 27, 1964, p. 2; translated in JPRS #28,494, January 27, 1965, p. 26. Also, "Preparation for the Resort Season," Trud, March 31, 1965, p. 1, translated in JPRS #30,548, June 19, 1965, p. 4.

Moskva, day and week-long trips are announced, and information on exact dates, accommodations, and cost is provided. Those interested are advised to call or visit the sponsoring agency for more details or actual reservations.

In 1958, the All Union Central Trade Union Council passed a measure to alleviate competition for the few putevki available. Instead of putevki, rubles were to be given to certain deserving workers for their vacations.⁷ Whether this policy has been operable since 1961 is hard to determine; no mention of it has been found in more recent literature.

Scarcity of Accommodations

Many workers who do not receive putevki for rest homes in the Crimea vacation there anyway. Two million non-putevka tourists come to sea resorts each summer and rent rooms in private homes, according to one Soviet writer.⁸ Still other Russians elect to visit either Moscow or Leningrad on their leaves. They find summer hotel space is as tight in these cities as it is in

⁷ L. Ia. Gintsberg, Otpuska rabochikh i sluzhishikh, 1961, p. 115.

⁸ V. Gavrilenko, "What if Everyone had a Place?" Literaturnaia Gazeta, April 28, 1966, p. 2.

resort areas. Foreign visitors to Moscow report having seen Russians waiting outside hotels at all hours of the night, hoping to get rooms.⁹ When no rooms are available, the railway station seems to be a popular place to spend the night. Waiting rooms of city railway terminals are often jammed with people sleeping on benches or floors.¹⁰ Foreign tourists in major Soviet cities stay in Intourist-run hotels, separate from the general population. Intourist hotels accept guests according to the following priority: 1) Western tourists; 2) non-Western tourists; 3) Russians. One American observer notes that Soviet businessmen frequent the lobbies of Intourist hotels in the off-season, hoping to find accommodations.¹¹

When checking in to a Soviet hotel, each guest is required to leave his passport at the desk. Foreign visitors carry their respective passports, while Russians themselves have internal passports. One of the latter is issued to each urban resident over the age of 16. An internal passport records a citizen's name,

⁹ Interview with Gayle D. Hollander, MIT, Center for International Studies, February 22, 1967.

¹⁰ New York Times, February 7, 1967, p. 20.

¹¹ John Scott, The Soviet World: Growth, Disintegration and Reform (New York: Time, Inc., 1966), p. 9.

address, date of birth, nationality, and work experience. To rent a hotel room in one city, a Russian's internal passport must prove his residence in another city. Also, he must have justification for his appearance in another locale.

Certain Soviet citizens are not issued standard internal passports. This need not hinder their long distance travel--one buys transit tickets without showing a passport--but it may frustrate attempts to visit or stay in large cities. Kolkhozniks have never been issued internal passports. This discrepancy causes considerable tension between the urban and rural populations. Lack of an internal passport chains the peasant to his farm; he can't move to a city or apply for a city job; he may not even be able to rent a hotel room. For these reasons, one writer describes Soviet peasants as "second class citizens in a legal sense."¹²

After World War II, prisoners released from labor camps were not issued standard internal passports. Their travel was heavily proscribed following penal service. Each ex-prisoner was provided with a form which entitled him to travel only to the area specified. After some time in this new location, the released person might

¹² Max Hayward in Introduction to Fyodor Abramov, One Day in the New Life, translated by David Floyd, (New York: Praeger, 1963), p. 17.

receive an internal passport stamped with a special "minus 135" stamp. This meant he could not reside in any of the 135 largest cities in the U.S.S.R., the largest industrial installations, republic capitals, border areas, or sea-shores.¹³ Fortunately, these strict parole conditions appear to have been eased. The "minus 135" passport system no longer seems to be in effect, according to a U.S. Department of State official. He adds:

...Therefore it is probably that there are no blanket travel restrictions on all ex-convicts, nor is there any special passport issued only to them...There are other indications, however, that ex-convicts are sometimes subject to individual residence restrictions, as opposed to travel restrictions. In other words, they may be issued a standard internal Soviet passport limited to prohibit residence, for example, in Leningrad and Moscow. In effect this is a form of exile, which in certain cases may seriously interfere with the later pursuit of an individual's career or profession.¹⁴

Incipient State of Tourist Industry

The above discussion of transport and resort facilities in the U.S.S.R. suggests the limited development of the Soviet tourist industry. Such a conclusion should

¹³U. S. Department of State, Forced Labor in the Soviet Union, #4716, September 1952, p. 64.

¹⁴Letter from Donald R. Lesh, Office of Research and Analysis for the Soviet Bloc, U.S.S.R. Division, Department of State, Washington, D.C., March 31, 1967.

come as no surprise to the reader who recalls that major capital investments have traditionally gone into heavy industry in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, until Stalin died in 1953, Russians were not encouraged to travel within their country for pleasure, nor were foreign tourists invited in. That situation has changed greatly now, with millions of Russians and foreigners travelling within the U.S.S.R. each year. The Soviet Government is making investments to enlarge the number of hotel rooms, restaurants, and flights available for travellers. Trade unions plan to expand widely their network of rest homes and sanatoria all over the country. Nevertheless, the number of travellers has enlarged more rapidly than facilities to handle them, and this problem will probably persist for several years at least.

More than one and 1/2 million foreign tourists are expected to visit the U.S.S.R. in 1967, the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. V. M. Ankudinov, the Director of Intourist, discusses the problems associated with so many guests:

Our chief trouble is a shortage of hotels and restaurants. Even in Moscow, where the influx of tourists is particularly great, we have only 4,500 hotel rooms with baths...Matters are no better with respect to restaurants. Frequently, a tourist lives at one end of

the city and we drive him 8-10 kilometers to another for breakfast.¹⁵

Millions of Russians can also be expected to make long distance vacation trips within the Soviet Union this year. The government has publicized widely many landmarks dating from the 1917 revolution; it is promoting visits to these areas and improving facilities around them.

¹⁵ "Our Hospitality," Izvestia, October 28, 1966, p. 4.
Translated in CDSP, Vol. XVIII, no 43, p. 22.

IV. TRAVEL PATTERNS OF RESPONDENTS IN "LEISURE STUDY"

Between 1964 and 1967, the Research Program on Problems of International Communication and Security at MIT's Center for International Studies¹ sponsored a study among more than 100 ex-Soviet and Soviet citizens. These respondents were a small, accidental sample of people who had lived in the Soviet Union; most have now left the U.S.S.R. permanently. All respondents left the U.S.S.R. not earlier than 1956, were at least 16 years old in their last year of residence in the U.S.S.R., and lived in the Soviet Union as citizens for at least 10 years. All participants in the study were interviewed outside the U.S.S.R.

The interview contains several questions relating to travel. Respondents were asked how many trips they took in their last three years of residence in the U.S.S.R., to which destinations, and for what purpose. Other background data in each interview provide answers to the following questions:

¹The same program under which this paper was prepared.

- 1) What is respondent's job? Is he a professional, worker, student, or other?
- 2) Does he live in an urban or rural area?
- 3) Is he a member of the Communist Party?

The following distributions emerged among the 115 respondents:

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1. Sex		
Male	81	70
Female	<u>34</u>	<u>30</u>
	115	100
2. Class		
Professional	45	39
Worker	50	43
Student	15	13
Other	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	115	99
3. Party Affiliation		
Communist	11	10
Non-Party	<u>104</u>	<u>90</u>
	115	100
4. Residence		
Urban	95	83
Rural	<u>20</u>	<u>17</u>
	115	100

This information correlated with responses to the questions about travel shows some interesting patterns:

- 1) Respondents took not quite one long distance round trip per year, with an average of 2.6 trips in three years. This is less than the two trips per year in Table 2. 22% of the respondents took no long distance trips in their last three years of Soviet residence. Travel seems to be highly concentrated among the few steady travellers, as is true for most countries. About half of all trips were taken by seven steady travellers.

<u>Trips Taken in 1 Year</u>	<u>Respondents</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0	25	22
1	52	45
2	15	13
3	6	5
4	5	4
5	2	1
6-10	3	2
11-20	2	1
more	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	115	97

- 2) Of those respondents who did make at least one long distance trip per year, more than two-thirds appeared to be travelling for pleasure, rather than business.

<u>Reason for Travel</u>	<u>Respondents</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Business	23	20
Pleasure	<u>92</u>	<u>80</u>
	115	100

- 3) Those factors which most strongly influenced how many trips each respondent made appear to be his job and sex. Travel patterns are not distinct between professionals and workers, or between Party and non-Party members. Rather, those respondents who made the greatest number of trips did so in accordance with their work as musicians, sailors, chauffeurs, athletes, railroad employees, or managers, irrespective of other characteristics. Also, men travelled considerably more than women. Rural respondents travelled somewhat more than urban.

<u>Trips Taken</u>	<u>Professionals</u>		<u>Workers</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0	6	13	12	24
1	19	42	23	46
2	8	18	7	10
3	2	4	2	4
4	4	9	1	2
5	1	2	1	2
6-10	1	2	1	2
11-20	1	2	1	2
more	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	45	99	50	96

<u>Trips Taken</u>	<u>Urban</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Rural</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	<u>Number</u>		<u>Number</u>	
0	24	25	1	5
1	42	44	10	50
2	10	10	5	25
3	3	3	3	12
4	4	4	1	5
5	2	2		
6-10	3	3		
11-20	2	2		
more	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
	95	98	20	97

<u>Trips Taken</u>	<u>Communist Party Member</u>		<u>Non-Party</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
0	2	18	24	23
1	6	54	45	43
2	1	9	14	13
3			6	5
4	1	9	4	4
5	1	9	1	1
6-10			3	3
11-20			2	2
more	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
	11	99	104	99

<u>Trips Taken</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	<u>Number</u>		<u>Number</u>	
0	12	15	13	38
1	35	43	17	50
2	15	18	1	3
3	4	5	1	3
4	3	3	2	6
5	2	2		
6-10	3	3		
11-20				
more	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>—</u>
	81	97	34	100

The travel experiences of the small number of respondents in the "Leisure Study" cannot be used as a prototype of long distance travel among the overall Soviet population, because the respondents did not represent a valid sampling of Soviet classes, nationalities, professions, etc. Nevertheless, there are some similarities between the travel experiences of the respondents and the generalities about long distance travel made in the earlier portions of this paper. Finally, the study data do suggest that one's job and sex may strongly influence one's mobility and the extent of one's long distance travel, irrespective of one's social class, residence, or party affiliation. These are still other factors to be taken into consideration in a discussion of long distance passenger travel in the Soviet Union.

The odd results arising in this atypical sample of interview respondents are that little travel was for business and that rural people travelled more than urban. These results should alert us to such possibilities, yet it is equally likely that this is an artifact of the sample which tends to be biased against the inclusion of successful Soviet influentials. Also, those few rural people who left the Soviet Union would perhaps be ones who had some chance to travel away from their villages.

V. PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Increased long distance passenger travel in the Soviet Union since 1950 reflects a growing degree of mobility for many citizens. In the future, this mobility will likely spread to even greater numbers of the population, including rural peasants. Two questions about related trends in future Soviet passenger travel deserve consideration here:

- 1) Due to greater passenger car production, will the U.S.S.R. soon enter the automobile age?
- 2) How will increased travel of Soviet citizens outside the U.S.S.R. affect vacation travel within the country?

How Many New Cars?

In 1966, the Soviet Government concluded agreements with one Italian and two French automobile producers to enlarge substantially passenger car production in the U.S.S.R. Fiat plans to build a new plant in Togliatti on the Volga, while Renault and Peugeot will renovate and improve the existing Moskvich plant near Moscow. As a result of these efforts, the Soviets' official 1970

production goal for passenger cars is 700,000-800,000, contrasted with 201,000 made in 1965. The author considers it most unlikely that this production goal will be met on schedule. For increased automobile production, new plans must be drawn up, factories constructed, assembly lines tested, and workers trained. A delay or hitch in any one of these steps would definitely limit production. Even if the 1970 goal is met, the number of new cars available for purchase by private citizens will probably remain only a third of actual production. Another third is likely to be exported to Eastern Europe while the remaining new vehicles will probably be distributed among the bureaucratic and managerial elite. Therefore, the huge automobile production and widespread ownership characteristic of the United States and Western Europe do not appear Soviet probabilities for the coming decade.

Availability of cars for purchase is only one aspect of future car travel in the U.S.S.R. Massive work remains to be done to build and improve roads and to provide tourist services along them. Nevertheless, evidence suggests that the Soviet Government plans moderate, rather than massive, investments in road building for the near future. In the Five Year Plan period 1966-1970, 63,000 kilometers of new hard surface roads are to be built---

approximately 20% more hard surface roads than were built between 1956-1960. Also, greater emphasis is to be placed on upgrading existing rural roads.¹ But no wide-scale road building program will parallel the planned four-fold increase in passenger car production in the U.S.S.R., even though better roads might slow the depreciation of motor vehicles using them. The Soviet Government seems to have decided that massive road construction can be delayed in the short run; increased demand will likely force the issue in the long run.²

Russian Tourists Abroad

The number of Russians travelling outside the U.S.S.R. has risen just as dramatically as those touring inside Soviet environs in the last decade. V. M. Andukinov, Director of Intourist, explains,

The Soviet people show no less passion for travel than the representatives of any other country. Each year more and more tourists from the U.S.S.R. go abroad...In 1956, 561,000 travellers from the Soviet Union visited other states, while in 1965, there were more than 1,150,000.³

¹Speech of A. N. Kosygin to 23rd Congress of Communist Party, April 5-7, 1966, Moscow.

²P. O. Roberts and Don Dewees, Transport Research Program, Harvard University, were most helpful in trying to solve this puzzling problem.

³"Our Hospitality," Izvestia, October 28, 1966, p. 4. Translated in CDSP, Vol. XVIII, no. 43, p. 22.

Intourist claims that in 1966 nearly 1,300,000 Soviet citizens visited foreign countries. Of this total, 684,052 travelled in "Socialist Bloc" countries while the remainder, 594,404, visited non-Communist countries. Table 3 provides a breakdown of these figures by countries.

The Intourist figures in Col. 2 should be considered with caution. A random check of parallel figures published by several host countries visited by Russians revealed significantly different numbers of Soviet tourists than reported by the official U.S.S.R. agency. The respective country counts in Cols. 3 and 4 are more similar to the United Nations data in Col. 5. One problem could be that presumably each Russian going abroad is counted only once in the Soviet figures which add up to the claimed total of foreign travellers, but most travellers who go abroad enter more than one country. This point only compounds the mystery, however, for the Soviet figures are usually larger than the hosts.

The writer assumes as the most probable source of the Soviet figures that Intourist counts the number of Soviet citizens visiting foreign countries by the number of putevki issued. By contrast, countries visited by Russians tabulate incoming foreigners in accordance with their non-immigrant status and a minimum 24 hour stay.

TABLE 3. Soviet Visitors to Communist and Non-Communist Countries, 1964-1966.

Country Visited	Number of Russian Visitors			
	1966	1965	1964	
	Intourist Count	Country Count	Country Count	United Nations Count
Poland	165,526			112,898
Mongolia	94,926			23,653 *
Czechoslovakia	78,416			52,961
Bulgaria	78,312			46,419
German Democratic Republic	72,630			
Rumania	60,376			8,204
Hungary	50,767			101,367
Cuba	33,553			3,720 *
Yugoslavia	12,608	32,030	25,953	14,720 *
North Korea	6,337			8,233 *
Other Socialist Countries	<u>30,491</u>			
Sub-Total	684,052			
Finland	48,414	11,200		
Japan	47,080	2,853	1,675	1,995
Sweden	42,505	2,640		
Italy	32,118			
Great Britain	26,135			2,563
France	20,993			
Denmark	20,130	1,528		
West Germany	16,796			4,435 *
Austria	16,639			5,092
Belgium	13,779			12,000 *
Netherlands	12,117			
India	8,839			2,049
Norway	8,459	633		
Canada	6,130	1,046		
United States	2,493	4,523	4,328	
Switzerland	1,700			
Other Non-Communist Countries	<u>270,057</u>			
Sub-Total	594,404			
Total	1,278,456			

*1963 figures

SOURCES: Figures in Col. 1 are from Intourist, New York Office. Figures in Cols. 2 and 3 are from respective national travel organizations. Figures in Col. 4 are from United Nations Statistical Yearbook 1965, 1966, Table 160, pp. 464-473.

The differences in these counting techniques may partly explain the discrepancies in the number of visitors counted. Perhaps the U.S.S.R. government includes in its count of Russians abroad those Soviet seamen whose ships call at foreign ports. This might explain Soviet figures for Russians who visited Finland and Japan, for example. Finally, Soviet military personnel serving abroad may be included in their country's tabulations. One would like to think that the Russian figures have some basis other than flagrant exaggeration.

As Table 3 suggests, if we can believe it, the majority of Soviet travellers outside the U.S.S.R. visited East European countries. There are at least two reasons for this choice. First, East European countries are closest to the U.S.S.R., limiting transport costs. Second, travel to a "Socialist Bloc" country is more easily arranged than travel to a non-Communist state. This year for the first time, Soviet tourists can travel to East Europe without visas; only internal passports and tourist vouchers are required.⁴ As was noted earlier, East Europeans have been able to travel to the U.S.S.R. without visas since 1964.

⁴Vechernaia Moskva, February 21, 1967, p. 1; also, New York Times, February 22, 1967, p. 9.

Evidence of the curiosity and interest Russians have about foreign travel comes in Soviet periodicals such as Novii Mir (The New World). This popular monthly literary magazine often features lengthy foreign travelogues. Rather than being stereotyped or dogmatic, these travel accounts are both frank and fair. As Novii Mir's editor, A. Tvardovsky, explains,

The time is past when our returning travellers are required merely to illustrate in their reports of life abroad, the same schematic notions with which they went there.⁵

There is no reason to expect that the additional number of Russian citizens permitted to travel outside the U.S.S.R. will probably cause a decline in tourist ranks within the country. It is still hard to get permission to travel abroad. In order to do so, a Soviet citizen must either arrange to be invited by a foreign institution (or individual) and then hope for official authorization, or join a formal or informal delegation or tour group already planning a foreign trip. Only a small percentage of those hoping to travel abroad are given the opportunity to do so; the large remainder must resign themselves to domestic travel instead. As a result of the reports brought home by Soviet citizens

⁵Quoted by Deming Brown in New York Times Sunday Magazine, December 19, 1965, p. 34.

travelling abroad, tourist and travel facilities within the U.S.S.R. may well be strengthened. The Government may be pressured to develop travel services and conveniences now available in other countries but lacking in the Soviet Union.

VI. THE IMPACT OF TRAVEL ON COMMUNICATIONS

This paper began with the hypothesis that passenger travel is a channel for popular communications. Now that Soviet passenger travel has been considered in terms of its breakdown by modes, volume, fluctuations, types of travellers, and convenience, the impact of travel on communications can be discussed. Another way of stating this same problem is, how does long distance travel affect Russian passengers? Answers to this question are speculative at best. There is very little literature on the impact of long trips on travellers in general, and Russians in particular. Nevertheless, a few reflections seem to be in order.

Four Possible Trends

First, one might speculate that increased passenger travel contributes to the patriotism and national identity of the Russians. The Great Soviet Encyclopedia's favorable definition of tourism seems to support such an idea; the book defines tourism as, among other things,

"one means of Communist upbringing for the masses."¹ Those Russians who see for the first time massive factories, modern buildings, new airports on their vacation trips are bound to find such achievements impressive. Evidence of Soviet industrial power must be the more amazing to rural peasants whose kolkhoz operations are backward and inefficient. In Moscow, for example, the spacious metro, many passenger cars, huge stadiums and exhibition halls cannot help but impress visitors. Certain comforts of living which these peasants observe in Moscow may have even more impact than the Kremlin or the inevitable visit to Lenin's Tomb.

Second, long distance domestic travel would seem to give citizens a base for checking the accuracy of the regime's claims. For example, if the destruction caused by a Tashkent earthquake were minimized in the public media, visitors to the area might be conscious of a discrepancy between such reports and reality. Similarly, harvest reports, construction project claims, and other official announcements might be questioned by perceptive Russians on long distance trips.

Third, one might speculate that long distance travel promotes increased contacts among people from various

¹Bol'shaia sovetskaia encyclopediia, 1956 ed., Vol. 43, p. 436.

parts of the U.S.S.R. Such contacts may at first heighten awareness of cultural differences, but with repeated exposure to varied nationalities, these contacts may actually tend to reduce cultural differences. Homogenization of the Soviet population is not the inevitable consequence of increased long distance passenger travel. Nevertheless, some cultural differences may gradually be reduced.²

Fourth, increased passenger travel within the Soviet Union may be whetting the appetite of Soviet passengers for travel outside the country. Part of the fascination for foreign travel no doubt stems from the fact that it is now unattainable by many. Still, new agreements such as those under which Aeroflot flies/will fly directly to Canada, the United States, and Japan will draw increasing attention to foreign travel. Barring increased international tensions the number of travellers into and out of the Soviet Union will likely continue to grow in coming years.

²I am grateful to Professor Holland Hunter, Economics Department, Haverford College, for the second and third suggestions.

VII. CONCLUSION

One can predict with some confidence that long distance passenger travel in the U.S.S.R. will increase steadily in the future and that larger government expenditures to improve passenger transport are likely. This does not mean that passenger transport in the Soviet Union will become luxurious. For example, T. S. Khachaturov urged in 1959 that all passenger train seats should be changed from "hard" to "soft."¹ This has not yet been done, some eight years later! Still, evidence such as the increased number of flights available between locations, greater passenger car production, and new travel terminals in large cities testifies to added government investments in long distance passenger transport. In addition, improvements in freight transport will likely cause fringe benefits or secondary gains in the form of improved passenger transport. As distribution and ownership of automobiles spread, the options for individual travel will expand. This should add a new dimension to long distance passenger travel patterns in the U.S.S.R.

¹Khachaturov, op. cit., p. 281.

Some Russians whose travel is now proscribed by rail, bus or plane schedules and seat availability will be able to travel at will in their own cars. Finally, more republic and all-union flights will permit increasing numbers of Russians to journey longer distances and see more new sights in their allotted vacation time.

The probable increase in numbers of Russians visiting outside the U.S.S.R. raises still other speculations. Permission to go to Western Europe or the United States is highly prized; it seems to be the aspiration of many intellectuals, in particular. At the same time, the opportunity to travel within Eastern Europe is expanding for many Russians. Though there may be more similarities between the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe than between the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe, there is still much for visiting Russians to see in socialist bloc countries. Just as Russian peasants are likely to be surprised by modern life in Moscow and Leningrad, so visiting Russians may be surprised and feel thoroughly ill at ease in more sophisticated Eastern European countries like Poland or Yugoslavia. Recent Soviet visitors to Warsaw were ridiculed for their outdated attire and clumsy manners. Russians making long distance trips into Eastern and Western Europe may be justly proud of their country's industrial achievements. However, acquaintance with other countries'

technological progress, standard of living, and available consumer goods may stimulate thoughts as to how much remains for the Russians to accomplish.

Russian technicians travelling to the developing countries of Africa and Latin America have far different experiences than other Soviets in European countries. Representing a highly industrialized modern urban society, these Russians come to impart skills and technology rather than to absorb them. Their nationalistic and patriotic feelings are likely to be strengthened by travel outside the U.S.S.R. Often, these skilled professionals are anxious to return to Moscow to continue promising--and interrupted--careers.

It would appear that Russians travelling long distances within and outside the U.S.S.R. will continue to loosen the social, political, and cultural isolation imposed by preceding regimes. For this reason, long distance passenger travel may be seen as a vital aspect of communications among Soviet people.

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13. ABSTRACT

Between 1950 and 1966, long distance passenger traffic increased significantly in the Soviet Union. This increase is examined in the light of government policy towards passenger transport, available passenger facilities, and urban and rural travel patterns. Only trips of 50 kilometers (31 miles) or more are considered; intra-city transportation is not covered. Future trends in Soviet long distance passenger transportation are discussed, including the growing stock of passenger automobiles and larger numbers of Russians travelling outside the U.S.S.R.

14.

KEY WORDS

LINK A

LINK B

LINK C

ROLE

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ROLE

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ROLE

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